

sons. At 14 Calvin came under the sound grammatical training of Cordier (*q.v.*). After his course in arts (chiefly at the college of Erasmus and Loyola), he took his degree in law after 3 years at Orleans and Bourges under de l'Estoile and Alciati (*q.v.*), meanwhile studying Greek with Wolmar. His father's death left him free to follow his preference for humanistic studies. His first book, a commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia*, displayed keen interest in morals and classics. In 1532 or 1533, through God's "secret providence," Calvin experienced "a sudden conversion," "received some taste and knowledge of true piety," and turned to the study of theology. When barely 26 he completed his *Institutio Christianae*



John Calvin (1509-1569).

Religionis, thenceforth the textbook of Protestant theology and arsenal for opponents of loose discipline or arbitrary government. His fundamental premises from which all his teachings sprang were the absolute sovereignty of God and the authority of his "Word." A brilliant and laborious student, winning distinction in debate and lecture room in the university, he early acquired habits of labor at Paris, where he was bred to 11 hours of school work, and at Orleans, where after a light supper he studied until midnight, waking early to think over what he had learned the previous day. Genius and incessant labor enabled him to accomplish a prodigious amount of statecraft and writing, his printed *Opera* filling 59 quarto volumes. Calvin and his followers had no sympathy for "idle bellies who chirp sweetly in the shade."

Obedient to "the calling laid upon him by

God," he twice abandoned scholarly life to remodel Protestant but unreformed Geneva. The *Articles* of 1537 submitted by Farel and Calvin to the magistrates outline the statesmanlike program of a reformer working on long lines. The "Word of God" rather than the canon law should be observed. The Church has a right to scriptural creed, worship, and its own organization, involving discipline and excommunication. Children must be carefully trained "to give a reason for their faith" and pass an examination on a catechism. Calvin's French catechism (1537), briefly restating the teaching of the *Institutes*, formed the basis of the Sunday noon catechism which every child must attend punctually under civil penalties imposed upon parents, who were also obliged to train their children at home. Revised (1542) in the form of question and answer, it went through 70 editions in nearly all languages of Europe (14 in English) before 1630, and was among the four, one of which was required of all Oxford undergraduates in 1578. The children were trained in singing the psalms an hour daily in school, that under their lead the whole congregation might learn to "lift their hearts to God." Calvin's successful insistence upon trained congregational singing, his use of stirring melodies, and the translation of psalms by himself, Beza (*q.v.*), and Marot introduced an invaluable democratic and emotional element into public worship. On Jan. 12, 1538 (before Sturm's Strassburg program), Calvin, Cordier, and Saunier published a prospectus of the Genevan elementary schools, marked by three progressive features: careful grammatical drill before rhetorical display; a substantial place for teaching the vernacular and practical arithmetic; training for civil as well as ecclesiastical leadership. The principle that "the liberal arts and good training are aids to a full knowledge of the Word," reasserted in Calvin's *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* adopted by Geneva in 1541, necessitated instruction in "languages and humane sciences" and "the organization of a college for instructing the children to prepare them for both the ministry and civil government." Education was a logical necessity for both layman and minister in Calvin's Biblical Commonwealth, and Calvin was both teacher and pastor. He began his work at Geneva as "Professor of Sacred Letters," lectured in theology throughout his ministry, sometimes to an audience of a thousand (*Opera*, XIX, 20), and worked out his programs of 1538 and 1541 into a unified system of primary, secondary, and university education through the *Collège* and University (*Académie*) established in 1559, which served as a training school and model for Protestants, and whose laws, as Richer and Kampschulte have shown, were utilized by the Jesuits in their *Ratio Studiorum*. The strenuous moral training of the Genevese and the peoples who studied Calvin's *Institutes* and his

Genevan institutions was an essential part of Calvin's work as an educator. All were trained to respect and obey laws based upon Scripture, but enacted and enforced by representatives of the people, without respect of persons. How fully the training of children, not merely in sound learning and doctrine, but also in manners, "good morals," and common sense was carried out is pictured in the delightfully human *Colloquies* of Cordier, Calvin's old teacher, whom he twice established at Geneva.

Luminous and majestic in his theology, convincing in his reasoning, if we grant his premises, Calvin was far more than a theologian. Even the *Institutes*, especially in the remarkable book on civil government, suggest the wide range of his activity. Calvin's memorials to the Genevan magistrates, his drafts for civil law and municipal administration, his correspondence with reformers and statesmen, his epoch-making defense of interest taking, his growing tendency toward civil, religious, and economic liberty, his development of primary and university education, his intimate knowledge of the dialect and ways of thought of the common people of Geneva, and his broad understanding of European princes, diplomats, and politics mark him out as a great political, economic, and educational as well as a religious reformer, a constructive social genius capable of reorganizing and molding the whole life of a people. He had the intense aggressiveness of the unflinching reformer. Though he won the undying affection of those who really knew him, his temperament was essentially masculine, and there was a lack of sentiment, humor, and those gentler qualities which win the affections of the world. In St. Peter's and the consistory, in the city hall and the streets of Geneva, he was the terror of evil-doers and heretics, the prophet of righteousness, with a majesty of conviction and a clearness of sound reasoning which convinced magistrate and common man, and won their awe and admiration, if not their affection. However men may differ in their estimates of the theology and personality of John Calvin, the outstanding facts regarding his historic work are not its narrowness, but its breadth of range and its fecundity of influence in two continents.

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CALVINISTS AND EDUCATION.—One of the fairest and most permanent influences of Calvinists in Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland, England, and America was their contribution to education. Calvin and his followers emphasized intellect and will more than feeling in the religious and moral life.

1. Calvin's *Institutes* taught that "God has furnished the soul of man with a mind capable of discerning good from evil and just from unjust; and of discovering, therefore, by the light of reason what ought to be pursued or avoided. . . . To this he has annexed the will" (I, xv, 8). Reason, "being a natural talent, could not be totally destroyed but is partly debilitated," and "smothered by ignorance." Yet "not only the Divine Word but also the experience of common sense" enables us to "perceive in the mind of man some desire of investigating truth." The capacity for such investigation was especially strong in "civil polity, domestic economy, all the mechanical arts and liberal sciences." (II, ii, 12, 13). Calvin in his interpretation of "the Word of God" did not hesitate to appeal to reason and equity. In his epoch-making refutation of the Mosaic prohibition of interest, he held that "the law of Moses (Deut. xxiii, 19) is political, and constrains us no further than is demanded by equity and human reason" (*Opera*, X, 246). Calvin did more than make the appeal to reason; his *Institutes* and catechism are marvellously cogent pieces of reasoning which taught the Protestants of western Europe and the colonists of America to test and revise Calvin's own premises in the effort toward a larger freedom of thought than he dreamed of. "Although we yield the first place to the Word of God, we do not reject good training . . . the Word of God indeed is the foundation of all learning, but the liberal arts are aids to the full knowledge of the Word and not to be despised." With these premises, viz.: the light of reason, man's desire and capacity for investigating truth, the need of training and the arts to understand the Word and the fundamental authority of that Word, the Calvinist, with his logical temper, saw that learning was not merely possible and desirable as "an ornament and no small private gain," but also

a public necessity in order to secure "political administration, sustain the church unharmed, and maintain humanity among men." The quotations in the two preceding sentences, taken from the school program drawn up for Geneva by Calvin, Cordier (*q.v.*), and Saunier in 1538, are typical of the aims and reasoning of the Calvinist. This education was moreover for laymen as well as for ministers. Calvinism with its teaching of the political rights and duties of "popular magistrates" appealed to peoples who believed in representative government. Its emphasis of the rights of laymen in the Church, and its systematic provision for the exercise of these rights through local consistory or kirk session, provincial synod and national assembly, not only trained James I's "Jack and Tom, and Will, and Dick," Mornay, Aldegonde, or William the Silent, in the exercise of judicial and legislative and administrative functions, but also showed them the need of education in order to train up an intelligent laity to serve in "church and commonwealth."

2. Added to his intellectual love of premise and conclusion, the Calvinist developed a strength of will, moral intensity, and practical temper which compelled him to put principle into practice, to enforce his ideals upon himself and others and embody them in concrete working institutions. "It is stupid to feel in one's self the capacity to do something well and not to seek out the means of doing it," wrote Mornay, leader of the Huguenots, counselor of Henry IV, and founder of the University of Saumur. "We dar and will," was the spirit of Melville, reorganizer of Glasgow and St. Andrews Universities. "One of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity," wrote one of those Puritans who were the founders of Harvard and the New England common schools. Not to be content to feel or long for things, but to dare, to will, to seek out, to look after things, these were characteristics of the Calvinists which impelled them to found school and college.

3. The funds for maintaining education were forthcoming through a productive economic policy and habit of giving based on a sense of social obligation. "He who will not work shall not eat" was the motto of Geneva and of Calvinists of all lands. Six days of productive labor was quite as much a part of the Fourth Commandment, according to the Calvinist, as resting on the seventh. His catechism taught the Calvinist that one object of Sunday rest was "to get men into the habit of working the rest of the time" (*Opera*, XXII, 41).

God himself, according to the Calvinistic teaching of Providence, is "not idle and almost asleep, but vigilant, efficacious, operative and engaged in continual action" (*Inst.* I, xvi, 3). "Christianity is a busy trade, the estate of a Christian is a working estate," wrote the Puritan Sibbes, widely read and honored in old

and New England, whose books went from John Harvard to the founding of Harvard College. In Geneva, "every one was obliged to work without observing holidays, save on Sunday." In England, Christopher Goodman and Robert Fills, former exiles in Geneva, the authors of the *Admonition to Parliament*, William Crawshaw of the Virginia Company (1609), Cromwell's Major-Generals, and in Plymouth Governor Bradford illustrate the Puritan objection to idleness on both scriptural and economic grounds. Baird has shown that the Huguenot's non-observance of ecclesiastical holidays gave him an advantage of about one day a week over his Catholic neighbor. "Some handicraft," "some trade," "some vertueouse industrie," "learning and labor," "idleness and lack of education," — these phrases from the records of school legislation among Scotch, Huguenots, and New England Puritans suggest the close relation between education and industry which lay in the minds and the policy of Calvinists. The teaching of the lawfulness of interest spread by Calvin, Francis Junius of Leyden, William Perkins of England, James Spottiswoode of Scotland, and Salmasius, Huguenot teacher of Leyden, and by Huguenot synods, gave Dutch, Huguenots, Scotch, English, and American colonists a great advantage over peoples who still clung to the canon law prohibition of interest. The Calvinist's firm belief in Providence increased his economic efficiency, because it lessened his worry about his future, which lay in God's hands, and increased his devotion to his daily task, his "calling," which equally with his future life was a part of God's plan.

4. With thrift and "gainful occupations" the Calvinist combined to a remarkable degree the habit of generous giving. Fortunately these men who acquired and had enough to give had also the sense of social obligation. Genevan, Scotch, and English Calvinist offered this "Prayer to be said before a man begin his work": "Strengthen us with thy Holy Spirit that we may faithfully travail in our state and vocation without fraud or deceit. . . . And if it please Thee, O Lord, to prosper our labor, give us a mind to help them that have need, according to that ability that Thou of Thy mercy shalt give us." Knit together by the common allegiance to the higher law of the Word of God to which high and low were alike subject, loyal to this Word of their "Commander-in-Chief," "before whose royal sceptre every head must bow and every knee must bend," facing common dangers, yielding common subjection to the moral discipline exercised by their own chosen representatives, acknowledging daily to Divine Providence their common responsibilities as His instruments and as children of one Father, the citizen soldiers of the Calvinistic commonwealth, the Puritan State, had a compelling sense of corporate unity and responsibility. "I am master,"

wrote Calvin in his discussion of freeing servants, "but not tyrant; I am master, but it is on this condition that I be also brother; I am master, but there is a common master in heaven both for me and for those who are subject to me: we are all here like one family" (Comm. on Deut. xv, 12, in *Opera*, XXVII, 351). "This world," said Paul Baynes, Calvin's influential Puritan follower in the next century, "is a piece of God's household." Such a commonwealth, bred on such teaching, logically demanded compulsory common schools so that "neathir the sonis of the riche, nor yit the sonis of the poore, may be permittit to reiect learnyng; but must be chargeit to continew thair studie, sa that the Commoun-wealthe may have some confort by them" (*Buke of Discipline*, Knox, *Works*, II, 211). Such a social sense illuminates the records of the Genevan councils and consistory, the synods of the Huguenots of France and their friendly societies in London, Dublin, and Charleston, the Kirk Sessions, presbyteries, general assemblies, and the burghs of Scotland, the New England towns, churches, general courts, and "the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England," with a story of systematic and self-sacrificing provision for better social conditions, improvement of health and morals, care of the sick in hospitals, fire protection, sewage, and notably for diffusion of knowledge and the training of youth in "knowledge of God and his ways" and in "gainful occupations." Intellectual liberty and freedom of inquiry were not the chief aims of the Genevan reformers or their Puritan followers, but they were the priceless by-products of what may be called in the larger sense of the word the Puritan commonwealths of England, Scotland, Holland, the American colonies, and of the attempted Puritan republic in France.

5. However intolerant toward what he believed error, the Calvinist was "not fearful of Knowledge." He felt rather that "the fearful estate is to flee from Knowledge." Therefore he "did not mislike all new inventions nor suspect all new discoveries and hold that whatever is new is nought." Such was the attitude of the Puritan minister, William Crawshaw in a sermon to his fellow members of the Virginia Company of London. Another Puritan minister, Paul Baynes, who influenced the New England clergy both directly and through Sibbes and Cotton, wrote in a book owned by Elder Brewster: "God hath not stinted us to any certain degree of knowledge but would have us seeke to be filled with all knowledge and wisdom." "Truth is strong next to the Almighty: she needs no policies, nor stratagems nor licensings to make her victorious" was the fine defense of the liberty of the press by the Puritan poet in politics. Most appropriately did the first two New England universities take truth as their motto, Harvard with its *Veritas*, Yale with its *Lux et veritas*. "Vigorous

free thought" was stimulated by the appeal to reason and the consequent "desire to investigate truth." It was applied and tested because of a strong will, moral sense, and practical bent. It was possible to "advance it and perpetuate it to posterity," because of the social insight which founded and the economic productiveness which maintained the college and common school.

As one follows the writings, statutes, and practices of the Genevans, Dutch, Huguenots, and the Scotch, English, and American Puritans, it becomes clear that in their educational system they had a common method and aim, and a common motive power behind these. Furthermore, it is clear that these methods, aims, and motives were developed through a remarkable international exchange of ideas through books and teachers. The common aim of training men for both civil and religious service, for "church and commonwealth," is recorded repeatedly in the enactments of all these Calvinistic peoples. Bourchenin has shown that 40 Scotch teachers taught in the Huguenot institutions; while the men trained in the University of Geneva who went forth to teach and preach are numbered by the hundreds rather than by the scores. The distribution of Calvinistic books was remarkable. Of Calvin's *Institutes* 74 full editions and 14 abbreviated editions had been published before the Puritan exodus to New England in 1630; and by the same date 77 editions of his catechism. Each of these works was printed in 9 languages by 1630. His catechism was adopted by the Scotch, Huguenot, French-Swiss, and Walloon churches, and accepted and widely used in Holland, England, and America. The scholarly editors of the standard *Opera* noted 394 titles of works by Calvin published by 1618. Even this is incomplete. An examination of the Stationers' Registers and of Dibdin reveals in the sixteenth century alone not less than 41 additional titles not included by Calvin's editors. Of Beza's Latin text of the New Testament no fewer than a hundred editions are said to have been published. Of Beza and Marot's translation of the Psalms, at least 25 editions were published the first year and more than 60 in the first 4 years, 1561-1565. Nearly a score of writers who had shared in the reform at Geneva or come under the influence of its leaders are to be found in one or more of the seven early American libraries of Harvard, Winthrop, Bellingham, Brewster, Rev. John Goodborne, and the Virginia Company of London and the "provincial library" of Edenton, N.C. To the influence of Huguenot writers upon English thought Sidney Lee in his recent Oxford lectures has called attention. The influence of this intellectual network of Calvinistic men and books upon the teaching and thinking of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is enormous.

England. — The educational activity of the

English Puritans manifested itself in the founding of colleges and the control of the teaching of the universities. Of the founding of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1584, the Puritan oak that grew from Walter Mildmay's acorn, Fuller wrote, "Sure I am at this day it hath overshadowed all the University, — more than a moiety of the present Masters of Colleges being therein." From this college manned by the most rigorous Calvinistic thinkers in England came about 50 of the first generation of New England clergymen. Puritans from Emmanuel and from Scotland, friends and probably pupils of Andrew Melville, the Scotch reformer trained in Geneva, founded and manned Trinity College, Dublin, which for the first generation, 1591–1630, remained a stronghold of Puritanism and gave to the Church of Ireland a strong and lasting Calvinistic character.

On the university and intellectual life of England a strong influence was exerted through exiles, students, and professors from Geneva, and through the voluminous writings of Calvin, Beza, and their Huguenot and Dutch followers like Mornay, Hotman, Chevallier, Scaliger (*q.v.*), and Isaac Casaubon (*q.v.*). Of the exiles at Geneva some gave England the Genevan version of the Bible, the version which Carter has shown was used by Shakespeare, and which was the popular edition up to the Puritan exodus to New England, over 100 editions being issued 1560–1617. Four exiles became heads of colleges, and two were professors of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge. Thomas Bodley, son of the printer of the Genevan version and student under Calvin and Beza, founded the Bodleian (*q.v.*), said to have been the first practically public library in Europe. One hundred and thirty-four of Calvin's writings were issued in English alone in the last half of the sixteenth century by 52 English publishers, no fewer than 40 in London. Of Beza's works at least 110 were issued in English or in England and Scotland by 1611; and on his Latin text of the New Testament the Genevan version in English was largely based. Calvin's *Institutes* continued to be the ordinary book of divinity for theological students, both Anglican and Puritan, well into the seventeenth century, as was testified by Sanderson, Charles I's chaplain and the nominee of Laud. Archbishop Laud studied it as an undergraduate at Oxford, and as late as 1636 felt it necessary to complain to the Bishop of Winchester that "the probationer fellows at New College were examined how diligently they had read Calvin's *Institutes*." Moreover for over 50 years (1575–1604, 1611–1633), whatever may be held as to the exact amount of Calvinism in the Thirty-nine Articles, the sympathies of the primates of the English church, Grindal, Whitgift, and Abbot, were with "the Calvinistic theology" (Gardiner; cf. Creighton on Grindal, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). In the controversies of the sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries, Anglican as well as Puritan, Whitgift and Hooker, as well as Cartwright and Travers, quoted Calvin's theology with approval. It was over the questions of discipline and worship that Anglican and Puritan differed. The remarkable predominance of Calvinistic and Genevan books in England is indicated in the Stationers' Registers for the sixteenth century and in the list of early gifts to the Bodleian (1600–1610), the printed catalogue of the Bodleian for 1605 and of Magdalen College, Oxford, for 1611, the catalogue "of approved divinity books" for 1655 and 1657, and of "the most readable books in England" for 1657 and 1658. By vote of the University of Oxford in 1578, Calvin's *Catechism* and *Institutes* were included in the list of books which had to be studied by all undergraduates. The conclusions of Gardiner and Sidney Lee that the Calvinistic theology was dominant not only in Cambridge, but also in Oxford, in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign is corroborated by the books owned or prescribed by the university, and by the views of the professors of divinity or heads of colleges. So far as its theological thinking was concerned, Oxford was in line with Cambridge, Heidelberg, Trinity College, Dublin, and the Scotch, Dutch, and Huguenot universities well into the seventeenth century.

Palatinate. — The University of Heidelberg became a strong Calvinistic center in the Rhine region under the teaching of Tremellius, Olevianus, Ursinus, Pareus, all of whom had come into personal relations with Calvin at Geneva, and all of whom published translations or defenses of Calvin's writings. Of the writings of these four Heidelberg Calvinistic teachers there are at least 14 in the Bodleian Library catalogue in 1605; 12 were in the libraries of Elder Brewster, Governor Bellingham of Massachusetts, Rev. John Goodborne in Virginia, and the library of Harvard College at its founding. English and New England Puritans preserved also books about the Palatinate, and evinced keen interest in its fortunes.

Holland. — The universities of Leyden, founded by William of Orange, 1575, Groningen (1614), Utrecht (1636), Amsterdam (1630), and 10 other universities or higher institutions of learning in the century following Leyden had an international reputation, maintaining close relations with Geneva, France, and England, through teachers like Scaliger and Junius Brutus, who had been at Geneva, or Salmasius, a Huguenot. Of the list of famous men of Leyden, published in 1625, more than one fourth had been students in the University of Geneva.

Popular education was cared for by both Church and State. The Synod of Dort resolved that "Schools in which the young shall be properly instructed in piety and fundamentals of Christian doctrine shall be insti-

tuted not only in cities, but also in towns and country places where heretofore none have existed. The Christian magistracy shall be requested that honorable stipends be provided for teachers, and that well-qualified persons may be employed and enabled to devote themselves to that function; and especially that the children of the poor may be gratuitously instructed by them and not be excluded from the benefits of the schools." (*Sess. XVII, Nov. 30, 1618.*) The Synod also directed the pastors to exercise careful supervision of schools by frequent visits, encouragement and examination of religious instruction, advice to teachers, and report of failures in their duties to magistrates. Drenthe (1630) ordered that for all children over 7 years, whether attending school or not, a school tax should be paid, and later endeavored by withholding of poor relief to stimulate school attendance. Overijssel (1666) had an obligatory school tax for children between 8 and 12. Amsterdam and many other cities demanded an examination of teachers; and Groningen required the pastors to bring the children to school. Provision for free education of poor became general, sometimes by special schools for the poor, at the beginning of seventeenth century. The Dutch, with their native intelligence and thrift stimulated under Calvinistic ideas and directed under Calvinistic leadership, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries founded noted universities, and made elementary education accessible to the poor as well as to the rich.

The Reformed Church of Holland sent ministers not only to the Dutch Reformed Church in America, but also to the German Reformed Church in the United States, made up largely of refugees from the Palatinate; and for the Germans in the United States it "raised nearly \$60,000 for the erection of churches and schoolhouses and the support of ministers." (See HOLLAND, EDUCATION IN.)

Scotland. — The history of the influence of Calvinism in Scotch education is so nearly identical with the educational history of Scotland from the time of the Reformation that only a general summary need here be given. For a detailed treatment the reader is referred to the article, SCOTLAND, EDUCATION IN.

On Knox's return from Geneva to Scotland he and his colleagues incorporated in the first great nationalized epitome of Calvinism, *The Buke of Discipline* (1560), a plan for a comprehensive national system of compulsory education.

The scheme for compulsory national education could not be carried out in its entirety, because of lack of funds. Yet the records of the Calvinistic church and commonwealth show a notable development of general education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (1) The Church laid down a program, giving reasons and methods for the compulsory education of rich and poor alike. (2) The acts of

general assembly, synods, presbyteries, kirk sessions, and of the national Parliament show that the Church exercised supervision over schoolmasters, scholars, and schools. (3) "The ecclesiastical records abound with acts of charity toward the sustentation of the ill-paid master and the free education of poor scholars" (Grant, *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*). (4) The Church not only gave money itself, but stirred up its various bodies to incite Crown, Parliament, and town councils to restore or apply old funds, or to create new ones for schools.

In 1641 the General Assembly requested Parliament to establish a school for instruction in reading, writing, and the rudiments of religion in every parish, and a grammar school in every considerable place including all presbyterial seats. The assembly also appealed to Parliament for support of the poor in school; and it directed all ministers to report to their presbytery whether a school existed in his parish. Five years later Parliament enacted that the heritors of every parish lacking a school should provide a schoolhouse and a stipend for the master, or it would be done by 12 men nominated by the presbytery with power to tax the heritors. In 1696 Parliament ordered that schools be established and that landlords should build schools and master's house and provide his salary, the pupils paying a small fee. The minister and landlord were to appoint the teacher and determine the fees, while supervision was left to the presbyteries, which could censure and dismiss schoolmasters, subject, however, to the control of the synod. Through the persistent efforts of ministers, assemblies, synods, kirk sessions, town councils, and Parliament, there was gradually worked out in Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a system of education which was religious, democratic, making education necessary and possible for rich and poor alike, from elementary school to university, and probably as near to deserving to be called national as any system of the same period in an equal area.

France. — The Huguenot educational institutions grew out of (1) the logical need of "those of the religion" for institutions to give moral and intellectual training to both laymen and clergymen; (2) the Calvinistic spirit of putting principles into practice at any cost; (3) the carefully knit organizations of the reformed churches of France; (4) the existing model at Geneva.

Coligny founded and maintained a college at Chatillon (1560) because he believed that "ignorance of letters has plunged the republic and the church into thick darkness," and that education was a "singular gift of God." "In order that the youth of our land may be better instructed that they may be able to serve the public better," the Queen of Navarre founded the *Académie* of Orthez "to teach letters, good

morals, and discipline to the children" (1566). "To preserve learning, the sure and certain foundation of the true religion," and to "advance the public good" were the motives for the founding of the *Académie* at Sedan urged upon the Duke of Bouillon by his Huguenot mother. So the church synods established schools not only "that our churches may be always furnished with a sufficient number of pastors," but also that they should have "other persons fit to govern them," i.e. laymen. The laymen, who regularly formed a majority of consistory and sometimes of the synods (never being in a minority), necessitated a high standard of lay education. "The Huguenots will be instructed," wrote the Catholic Marquis d'Aguessau, governor of Languedoc; "it is certain that one of the things which hold them to their religion is the amount of information they receive from their instructors." Even a common Huguenot sailor like Taré Chaillaud thought it folly to "believe everything which the church says without informing yourself of other things through conscience." The national synod of 1612 petitioned their majesties "to grant leave unto us, in all cities and towns where there be a number of families of our Religion, to keep lesser schools for the education of our children . . . this being a matter which can never be dismembered nor severed from our liberty of conscience." "Universities and colleges are the workshops where the spirits of men are formed and fashioned, the springs and fountains of power, discipline, and art" (Laws of Montauban, 1600). "Virtue and learning are the seeds and the fruits of universities; the university is the nursery of future members of society" (Laws of the University of Nîmes, 1582). "I desire to excite myself to the love of virtue and the hatred of vice, and to aid the studious youth in the same endeavor, an object which has been too little regarded by former commentators," declared Isaac Casaubon (*q.v.*), child of Geneva and Professor at Montpellier. The charmingly human and naïve "little grammarians" of Cordier's *Colloquies* show how the boys were taught to think and practice a sound morality of boyhood, and to prize "virtue and the knowledge of honest things." The boy unfit for scholarship was recommended "to learn some trade suitable to his capacity" (32d Colloquy). Such expressions of founders, rectors, professors, and pupils reveal the purpose to give both elementary and university training not merely to clergymen, but also to laymen, so that all might be brought up in sound morality as well as sound learning to serve "the republic and the church." The education of Huguenots was not merely ecclesiastical, but civil; not only intellectual, but also moral and economic.

The Calvinistic spirit of putting principle into practice, of turning principles and possibilities into actualities, enabled the Huguenots

to carry out their educational ideals at the cost of great sacrifices on the part of municipalities, churches, individual founders, and ill-paid rectors and professors. The Calvinistic genius for organization furnished effective channels for founding, maintaining, and supervising education, through the consistory of the local church, colloquies of neighboring churches, and the lay and ministerial deputies gathered in provincial and national synods. Elementary schools, teaching reading, writing, the catechism, and elements of arithmetic founded and supported by local consistory or Huguenot nobles were numerous, usually one for each church and evidently sometimes more, for the decree of 1671 restricted the reformed to one school in each place where their public worship was tolerated. Even the lower classes came to have an astonishing knowledge of Scripture.

Careful provision was made for the education of the poor. "In every colloquy one poor scholar at the least was to be maintained . . . in the Universities, and rather than this design should miscarry, the fifth penny of all our charities shall be set apart . . . to be employed in this service," was the provision of the Huguenot Discipline. Each colloquy was obliged to report on this matter "unto their provincial synod, and the provincial synods shall give an account thereof unto the National" (Synod, 1594). Scholarships for poor scholars were also established by individuals who usually entrusted the administration to the local consistory. Each province was "to do its utmost that a college be erected in each of them" (Synod, 1596). This provision was so well carried out that in each of the 15 provinces, with the possible exception of Provence, one or more colleges were founded by municipality, nobles, or princes or churches, and supported by endowment, tuition fees, and subsidies from the national or provincial synods, the "helping hand" of colloquies, or grants from consistory. Thirty-two of these Huguenot colleges were in operation between the reform and the Revocation of 1685 (Bourchenin, 66 ff.). The National synods also urged the founding of *Académies* or universities, and granted funds for their support. Eight of these Huguenot universities, with degree granting powers, were established between 1561 and 1604; by consistory at Nîmes and Montpellier; by the local church and the provincial synod of Dauphiné at Die; by national synod at Montauban; by joint actions of Duplessis Mornay and the national synod at Saumur; by the Queen of Navarre at Orthez, erected into a royal university by her son Henry IV; at Orange by Louis of Nassau, who had come under the influence of Calvin and Beza at Geneva; by the Duke of Bouillon at Sedan. These universities (save Orthez and Orange, which were outside the kingdom) received moneys and laws from the national synod.

The businesslike quality of the Huguenot is seen in the handling of the funds. Each pro-

vincial synod had to account to the national synod for subsidies for universities and colleges. A province or university tardy in its accounts had its award delayed for satisfactory accounting and auditing. Each of the synods from 1598 to 1644 appropriated from 3000 to 16,000 livres to the universities, the amount from 1607 not falling below 12,000 livres (Tables in Bourchenin, 302-303). "Scholars received by the Provinces as pensioners shall give in good security for repaying the sums received by them . . . in case that through their default they do not serve the church in the ministry of the Gospel" (Synod, 1607).

The university councils "were to see that the synod's laws were obeyed" and "that the scholars do carry themselves with all modesty." In order that "the said statutes may be better observed," the national synod directed the provincial synods to depute annually two pastors to inspect the universities "and make enquiry whether the professors and scholars both of them do faithfully and diligently intend and mind their duties." The finding of these inspectors was to be reported by provincial deputies to the national synod (Synod, 1617). "These inspectors," says Loret (*Rev. Franc.* 1856, Vol. VI, p. 404), "are proof of a remarkable organization and direction of the divers reformed institutions, not to be found in the Catholic universities, either Jesuit or others." While there was in all the Huguenot universities and colleges the same spirit, there was also, as Bourchenin has shown, a large amount of initiative and spontaneity in each college.

The acts of synods show that the measures for the education of the poor were well carried out. Education, as in Geneva, Holland, and Scotland, was for all classes, poor and rich alike. Casaubon was struck in England by the absence of "what we call poor scholars." Equality of subjection to law was maintained for both professor and scholar, both of whom were subject to the annual inspection. Cordier's *Colloquies* suggest wholesome relations between master and pupils, with a simple sort of self-government among monitors and boys who are taught to avoid tale-bearing and to distinguish between serious faults and little things honestly repented. According to Cordier, even in choice of monitors the opinion of "the better pupils" was consulted. The discipline was careful and rigorous, and much attention was paid to both manners and morals, but apparently the regulations were tempered with some humor and common sense. To the English observer, Quick, the boys seemed to be too little restricted and on too familiar terms with teachers. Pupils lived not in an *internat*, but in homes, often of regents or professors in the city. They were taught reverence for parents, and fathers were corresponded with as to their sons' welfare. Neglectful students were dropped and posted. From Geneva they adopted the idea of censures at the close of daily session, and the annual

examination for promotion at end of year. Some attention was paid to music, and pupils were taught the words and music of Marot and Beza's translation of the Psalms. Cordier's *Colloquies* indicate that there was some regard for exercise and relaxation, but the provision seems to have been less systematic than with the Jesuits. There was more emphasis on the vernacular, arithmetic, and Greek, and less prescription of Latin to the exclusion of French than in the schools of Sturm and the Jesuits. "M. Nisard says that after the definitive triumph of catholicism in France, Greek became offensive as the language of heresy. This is perhaps to say too much. But it is certainly true that more strenuous efforts were made at this moment to keep up Greek and Hebrew in the Protestant Academies, poor as they were, than in the Catholic and Jesuit Colleges and Universities" (Pattison, *Casaubon*, p. 113). Huguenot colleges and universities, says Bourchenin, put texts more fully into pupils' hands, discussed context and history more fully, and developed the spirit of inquiry and investigation more than did the Jesuits. This spirit of inquiry, so essential a characteristic of Calvinism, subjected Calvinistic theology to reexamination and restatement after conflicts. It also gave a larger element of spontaneity and progress to Huguenot institutions.

The universities were urged "to do their utmost in getting a public library," and the churches to "get libraries for the service of their ministry." The synods followed up their recommendations, and all the universities secured libraries. The library at Die was created by the Academic Council through gifts from notables, synod, and candidates for degrees; at Nîmes by the consistory; at Sedan by a fund established by the university, supplemented by Henry of Bouillon; at Saumur by Duplessis Mornay's gift of his library. Sedan and Samur had collections of European reputation.

At the opening of the seventeenth century the Huguenot universities, according to the testimony of the Catholic historian, de la Fond, "held their place among the most learned of Europe" (*Essai sur Loudun*, 93). The long list of famous teachers reveals the international character of Calvinistic teaching: Gomar of Leyden, later the opponent of Arminius, was called to Saumur, 1614; John Robert Chouet of Geneva, an admirer of Bacon and a follower of experimental research, the first to teach the philosophy of Descartes in the Huguenot universities, professor of philosophy at Saumur and future master at Geneva of Pierre Bayle; Pierre Viret and Nicholas des Gallars, pastors of Geneva, at Orthez; Isaac Casaubon, born and educated at Geneva, teacher there, at Montpellier, Paris, and in England; Lambert Daneau of Geneva and Leyden, at Orthez; Tremellius, a converted Jew, and ardent Calvinist, teacher of Hebrew in Cambridge and Heidelberg, at

Sedan; Andrew Melville of Geneva and Scotland, professor of theology at Sedan, 1611-1622; John Cameron of Glasgow, Geneva, and Heidelberg, at Sedan and Saumur; and nearly 40 other Scotchmen given by Bourchenin (p. 403).

The significant characteristics of Huguenot education were: an emphasis on education of laity; training for "the republic" and "society" as well as for the Church; insistence upon virtue as well as knowledge; the widespread demand for education and a view of it as essential to liberty of conscience; a comprehensive working system of elementary, college, and university training for all, poor as well as rich; an astonishing familiarity with Scripture even among the lowest classes; utilization of representative church organization for founding, supporting, and unifying education; readiness to sacrifice for education, a spirit of carrying a thing through at any cost; businesslike supervision of money, and systematic supervision of both professors and students; a notable emphasis on vernacular, arithmetic, Greek, use of full texts and libraries; and finally a progressive spirit of inquiry and investigation.

The Huguenots in exile show their characteristic care for education and social welfare. In London they established a famous hospital. In Dublin they founded a Huguenot Charitable Society to educate poor children and put them out as apprentices, "being persuaded that idleness and the lack of education are the greatest of evils." The Huguenot refugees established schools also in Holland. England would have had schools for the poor in every parish in 1807, had Parliament passed a bill supported by Romilly, a grandson of a Montpellier Huguenot exile of 1685, and an observer himself of Genevan and Swiss institutions. (See FRANCE, EDUCATION IN.)

America. — Perhaps the most remarkable, because the most widespread and complex, illustration of its educational genius is to be found in the American colonies, where the various European streams of Calvinism so converged that the seventeenth-century colonists were predominantly Calvinists, not merely the Puritans of New England, but the Dutch, Walloons, Huguenots, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish, with a considerable Puritan admixture in Anglican Virginia and Catholic Maryland.

The Calvinistic founders of New England who brought over the *Institutes* and books of Calvin and his followers, and who read, quoted, and bequeathed them, led the Puritan exodus with the intent to establish a Biblical Commonwealth, one of whose logical corner stones, like that of Geneva and Scotland, was education. "One of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity," wrote the Puritan author of *New England's First Fruits*. In pursuance of this ideal the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, composed entirely of members of the Calvinistic churches of the colony, voted

£400 for a school or college 6 years after the coming of the Puritan exodus under Winthrop. Forty men educated in Cambridge, England, were in New England in that year, according to Savage. Dexter estimates that "of the early emigrants to New England about 60 were from Cambridge and about 20 from Oxford"; but, as has been shown, even Oxford at the opening of the century was Calvinistic in its theology, and the New England ministers were from the Calvinistic Puritan element in both universities. Among the books which went to the founding of Harvard College library were Calvin's *Institutes* and his commentaries on 26 of the books of the Bible, and works by seven other Huguenot, Palatine, English, and Dutch Calvinists associated personally with Calvin at Geneva. Governor Winthrop owned and gave to Harvard Calvin's *Institutes* and books by two Geneva-trained men; and Governor Bellingham gave books by four such men. Elder William Brewster's library contained 7 volumes of Calvin and 18 by followers of Calvin who had studied at Geneva. The remainder of the books in the libraries of these four men were overwhelmingly Calvinistic. The Massachusetts Bay Act of 1647 requiring reading and writing schools in every town of 50 families and grammar schools preparing youth for the university in towns of 100 families, reflects the same premises and conclusions of the Calvinist that have been noted among the Genevans, Scotch, and Huguenots. Not merely in New England, but wherever Calvinistic colonists settled in America, they founded schools and colleges. The earliest permanent settlers of New Amsterdam, the Walloons of 1623, were guaranteed by their leader as being of *la religion réformée*, i.e. Calvinistic, and were granted permission by the States-General of Holland on this basis. Not only the Puritan founders of Boston and New Haven, of Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and Brown, but also the Walloon and Dutch founders of New York, Brooklyn, and Albany, and of Rutgers College, and likewise the Scotch-Irish founders of Princeton and the pioneer schools and colleges of Pennsylvania and the South were all Calvinists, not merely in dogma and discipline, but also in the wider features of the Calvinistic program and temper. In New Netherland, Peter Minuit, the second Director, had been a refugee from religious persecution, and a deacon in a Walloon church, and became an elder of the church in New Amsterdam. Peter Stuyvesant, of wooden leg and tinderlike temper, Director-General of the colony, had married the daughter of a Huguenot clergyman, and became one of the elders of the Dutch Reformed church of New Amsterdam.

The Scotch and Irish, or "Scotch-Irish," Presbyterians in America developed the impetus received from Knox and the parish and high schools of Scotland and from the influence of Trinity College, Dublin. Wherever they settled they established schools. Of 317 peti-

tioners from North Ireland to Governor Shute in 1718 for land in New England, 9 ministers and 3 others were graduates of Scotch universities. Four years after they settled in Londonderry, N.H., these Scotch-Irish built a school-house on the Common near the meeting house, and 2 years later were employing 5 school teachers and expending £36 4s. annually. In the 95 years from 1753 to 1848, Londonderry had 55 college graduates.

S. S. Green states that the Scotch opened the first classical school in the central and western part of New York (1741), and furnished many of the schoolmasters in provinces south of New York prior to the Revolution. In Pennsylvania, William Tennent, a graduate of Edinburgh, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Neshaminy, founded a log college to prepare men for the ministry (1726). Pupils of Tennent established other colleges. Three other Presbyterian ministers started churches and log colleges in Western Pennsylvania, from which developed Washington, later Washington and Jefferson College. Scotch-Irish Presbyterians also established Princeton, which absorbed the forces of Tennent's log college. Hampden Sidney (1776), incorporated 1783, the second oldest college in the South, was founded through the exertions of the Presbytery of Hanover, Va., which collected subscriptions of £13,000 in 1774-1775. One of the members of the first faculty was Samuel Doak, who about 1780 founded Washington College, Tenn., "the first literary institution in the Mississippi valley." North Carolina owed her first classical schools to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, mainly graduates of Princeton, itself a product of Scotch-Irish Calvinism. Missionaries sent by the New York and Pennsylvania Presbyterian Synods established churches, and, says Foote, "wherever a pastor was located, in that congregation there was a classical school" (*Sketches*, N.C., 513). Tate's Academy, Wilmington (1760); Crowfield Academy, Mecklenburgh County (1760); the famous log cabin academy school and seminary of David Caldwell (pupil of Tennent's log cabin), Guilford County (1766-1767); Alexander's classical school (1767) at Sugar Creek Presbyterian Church, out of which grew Queen's College (1770), later Liberty Hall Academy, under supervision of the Orange presbytery, are examples of such schools.

In South Carolina the most famous academy was founded (1793-1794) by Moses Waddel, a Presbyterian minister, a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College, who educated a remarkable number of South Carolinians eminent in national affairs, including Calhoun, Crawford, and a score or more of senators, judges, and cabinet members.

The Virginia Company, while under the control of men in sympathy with Puritan and "Genevan ideas" (1618-1625), made a vigorous attempt to found a college, unfortunately checked by the Indian massacre and James'

annulling of the company charter. Sir Edwin Sandys, an admirer of Genevan republican ideas, secured a grant of 10,000 acres for an Indian college and English seminary, and the company sent Thorpe over to superintend them.

A detailed discussion of the educational activities of the American colonists is given in the article COLONIAL PERIOD IN AMERICAN EDUCATION, and further details in the historical section on the educational system of the several original states. See also the article on ACADEMIES for the educational influences of the Scotch-Irish.

The remarkable development of colleges and compulsory free schools among Calvinists was not entirely due to any single theological tenet; but the historic working Calvinism of Calvin, Genevans, Huguenots, Scotch, Dutch, English Puritans and the American colonists was far more than a theological dogma. Calvin and all these Calvinists had a common program of broad scope — not merely doctrinal, but also political, economic, social — and similar ideals and institutions. Their common program and their social insight demanded education of all as instruments of Providence for church and commonwealth. Their industrious habits and productive economic life provided funds for education. Their representative institutions in both church and commonwealth not only necessitated general diffusion of knowledge, but furnished the organization necessary for founding, supervising, and maintaining in wholesome touch with the common man both elementary and higher institutions of learning. Their disciplined and responsive conscience, their consequent intensity of moral conviction and spirit of self-sacrifice for the common weal, compelled them to realize in concrete and permanent form their ideals of college and common school.

H. D. F.

See also references under articles on CALVIN, and GENEVA, UNIVERSITY OF.

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American Colonies:—

For references on American Colonies, see article on COLONIAL PERIOD IN AMERICAN EDUCATION.

CAMBRIDGE, CITY OF.—A city in Massachusetts, fourth from the largest in point of size. Harvard University and Radcliffe College are located in the city. In 1900 Cambridge had a total population of 91,886, and in 1909 its estimated population was 101,872. Its school census, 7 to 14 years of age, was 11,500 in 1909; and its total school enrollment was 17,135 in day schools, and 2652 in night schools. In addition the enrollment in private and parochial schools was 4014. Of the population of 1900, 94 per cent were native born, and the foreign born were chiefly English and Canadians. The city is essentially residential.

History.—The first school in Cambridge was opened in 1642. This was a privately supported school until 1654, when a small "rate" was levied to help to support the teacher. For 150 years after this time the schools in the town had a struggle for existence. During the first half of the nineteenth century a number of schools was opened, and a School Committee was appointed. In 1840 the first printed school report was issued. This shows that Cambridge was one of the earliest cities to grade its schools, there being 19 schools in existence, divided into alphabet, primary, middle, grammar, and high school grades. In 1838 a central classical high school was established, but this met with much opposition, and in 1843 it was abandoned, and 3 classical teachers were put into 3 different grammar schools in the town. In 1847 the central high school was reestablished, and in 1848 the classical teachers in the grammar schools were discontinued. In 1846 the city was incorporated, and a School Committee of 7 was provided for in the new city charter. In 1858 the number of committeemen was raised to 10, and in 1868 to 15, at which number it remained for 40 years. In 1851-1852 a private evening school was established, which in 1868 was taken over by the city. In 1871 evening schools of drawing were established, and in 1889 an evening high school was provided. In 1845 a supervisor of music was employed; in 1869 drawing